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AUTHOR Benton, Richard A.
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ABSTRACT

In a survey of the Maori population of New Zealand, it was determined that the use of Maori is in alarming but not irreversible decline. The decline is most evident in urban areas, where Maori speakers face pressures from an English-speaking majority. Younger Maori were generally found to be less proficient than their older relatives. Even rural Maori communities are producing fewer fluent Maori speakers. Where Maori has been maintained, it is rarely the dominant language, having been subjected to varying degrees of pidginization and borrowing from English. The changing patterns of Maori usage are viewed as conforming to the classic syndrome of the death of a language. The role of language prestige and the communications explosion in influencing younger Maori to learn only English is discussed. Maori is thought to be revivable only through a campaign for public awareness of the value of cultural maintenance. If another generation is allowed to pass without a maintenance movement, it is predicted that the Maori language will die. (JB)

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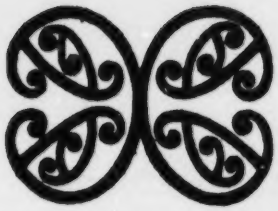

THE MAORI LANGUAGE IN THE NINETEEN SEVENTIES

by Richard A. Benton
NEW ZEALAND COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

A paper prepared for the Symposium
'The Future of Indigenous Languages in the Pacific'*
49th ANZAAS Congress, Auckland, January 1979

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Kei whea Korotangi, ka ngaro nei?

Where is Korotangi, vanished hence?

In a lament recorded by Sir George Grey, an unknown poet speculates on the fate of the Korotangi, a treasured image of a bird said to have been brought to New Zealand from Hawaiiki. The poet's worst fears were not realized, as the Korotangi was found again some years ago, and is now a valued museum piece. During the 1970's, the Maori language also has been rediscovered, and the dispassionate observer would find much evidence to persuade him that the language will soon be joining the Korotangi as a national cultural relic - honoured, but with little practical importance.

A glance at the map of Northland, based on data from the census phase of the survey of language use in Maori households and communities[1], reveals, for example, only one real stronghold of Maori language maintenance (Matawaia, one of the least accessible localities in the Bay of Islands County). A few other pockets of resistance can be located in the northeast and south central Bay of Islands, northern Hokianga, and the northern part of the Aupouri peninsula. Even areas formerly noted throughout the Maori world for the quality and pervasiveness of the Maori spoken there, like Te Kao and Te Tii, now lie in a kind of limbo, where Maori is still widely known, but actively spoken by less than half the Maori population. In a few areas, like the older townships in the Bay of Islands, less than half the resident Maoris have any knowledge at all of the language.

The last mentioned situation - where, taken as a whole, the

KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI IN FIVE NORTHLAND COUNTIES

One third or more understand Maori

- ■ Over 80% of total Maori population can speak Maori fluently
- ■ Half to two-thirds speak Maori, more than 2/3 understand
- ◆ Half to two-thirds speak and understand Maori
- ● Less than ½ but more than 1/3 speak Maori, ½ or more understand
- ▲ Less than½ speak Maori more than 1/3 but less than ½ understand

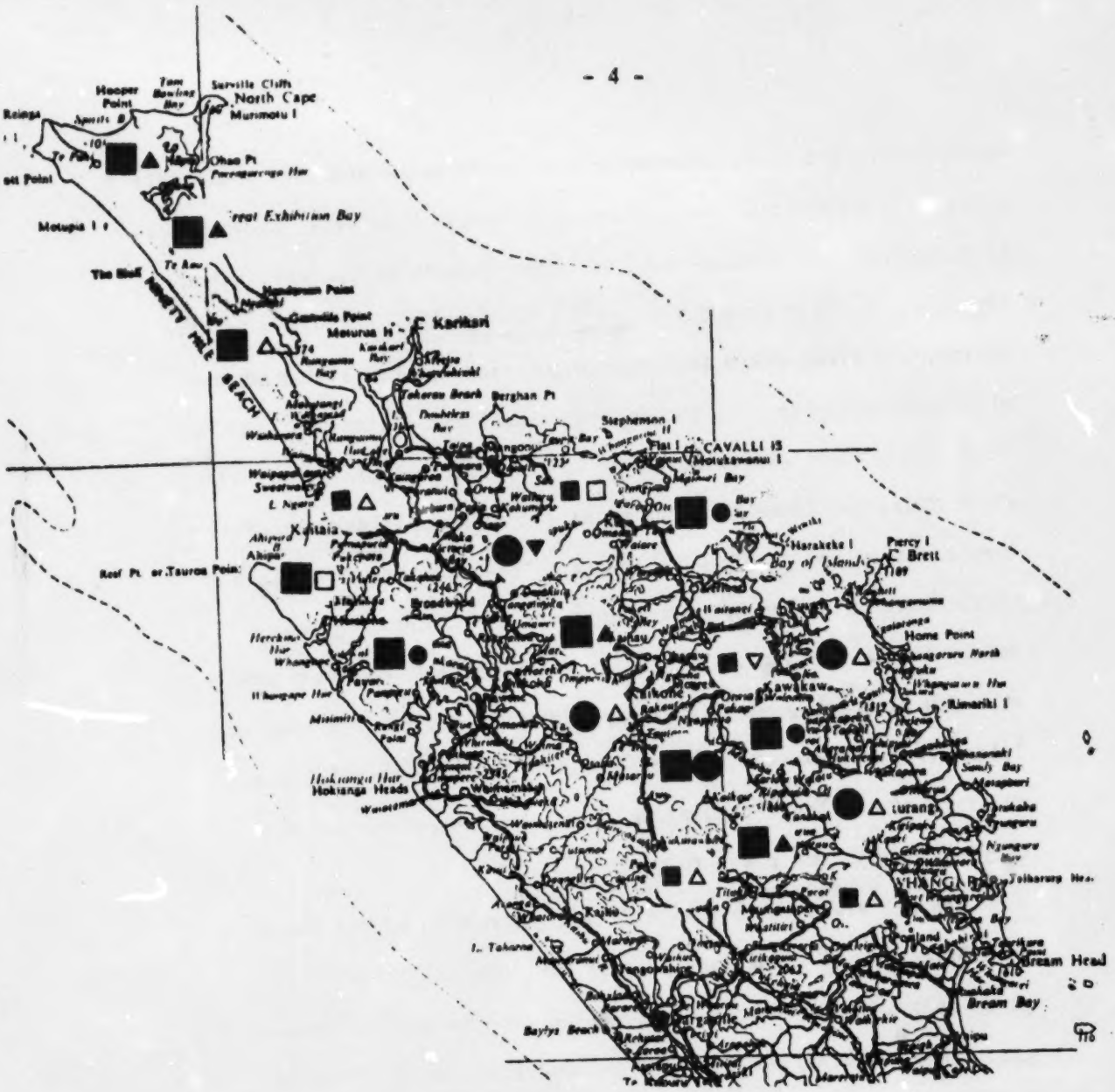
Less than one third understand Maori

Some knowledge of the language (from slight to fluent) held by

- ▼ 2/3 or more
- ◇ ½ or more
- △ more than ½
- ▽ ½ or less

Maori population is predominantly English speaking and only a minority has even a superficial acquaintance with Maori - is still exceptional in Northland. It becomes the norm only in parts of the Wellington Province, southern Hawkes Bay, and the eastern section of the Waikato region, all areas where the Maori population has had little chance of isolating itself from the English linguistic mainstream. On the other hand, there are still a few areas in the Eastern Bay of Plenty where Maori continues to function as the principal language of communication for people of all ages. None the less, the places where Maori is spoken by most people are few in numbers and mostly fairly isolated. The places where noone knows Maori are also few although generally with larger populations. In most North Island communities active command of the language is held by a minority of the Maori population, with the passive knowledge varying widely from place to place.

In all areas where a significant proportion of the Maori population do <u>not</u> speak the language, the probability that any given individual will be a Maori speaker increases dramatically with age. This means of course, that in borderline Maori speaking communities, like Ruatahuna in the heart of the Urewera country, or Panguru in the northern Hokianga, the language is not really secure at all; many parents no longer use the language when speaking to their children, or, conversely, their children hear and use English much more frequently than Maori even when their parents do use it at home. Whatever the cause, the effect is to produce a community where Maori is pervasive among the older age group, and English is is dominant among the younger. In these communities, the proportion of Maori speakers can only remain constant if younger people emigrate



INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI
IN SELECTED NORTHLAND COMMUNITIES

For each area, the right hand symbol represents persons of Maori ancestry under the age of 25, and the left hand symbol those aged 25 and over.

The symbols have the same meaning in relation to the respective age groups as those used on the preceding map (p. 2), with the addition of:

● Over 2/3 but less than 4/5 are fluent speakers of Maori.

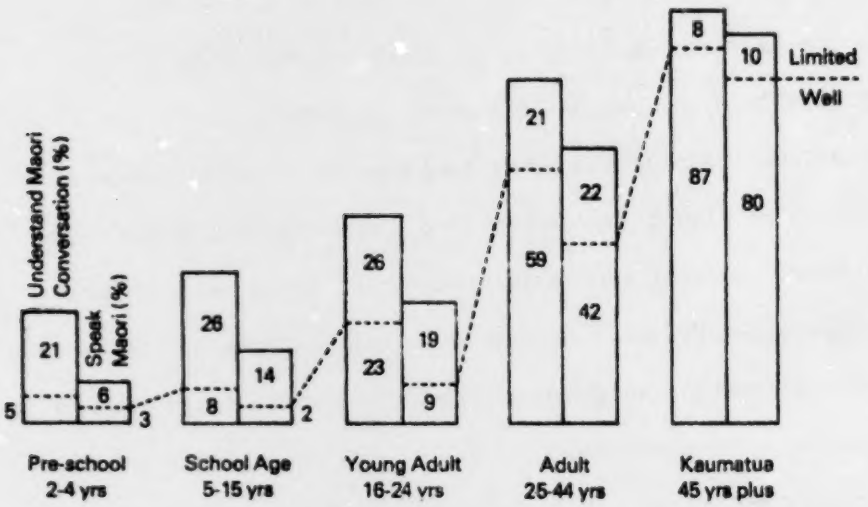
□ Less than 1/3 understand Maori, but 1/2 or more have some knowledge of the language (from slight to fluent).

(which would mean that in a few generations no one would be left, Maori speaking or English), or if the older generation can find some way to regain control of the language through which their children are socialized, and influence them sufficiently so that they in turn use the language in bringing up their own children.

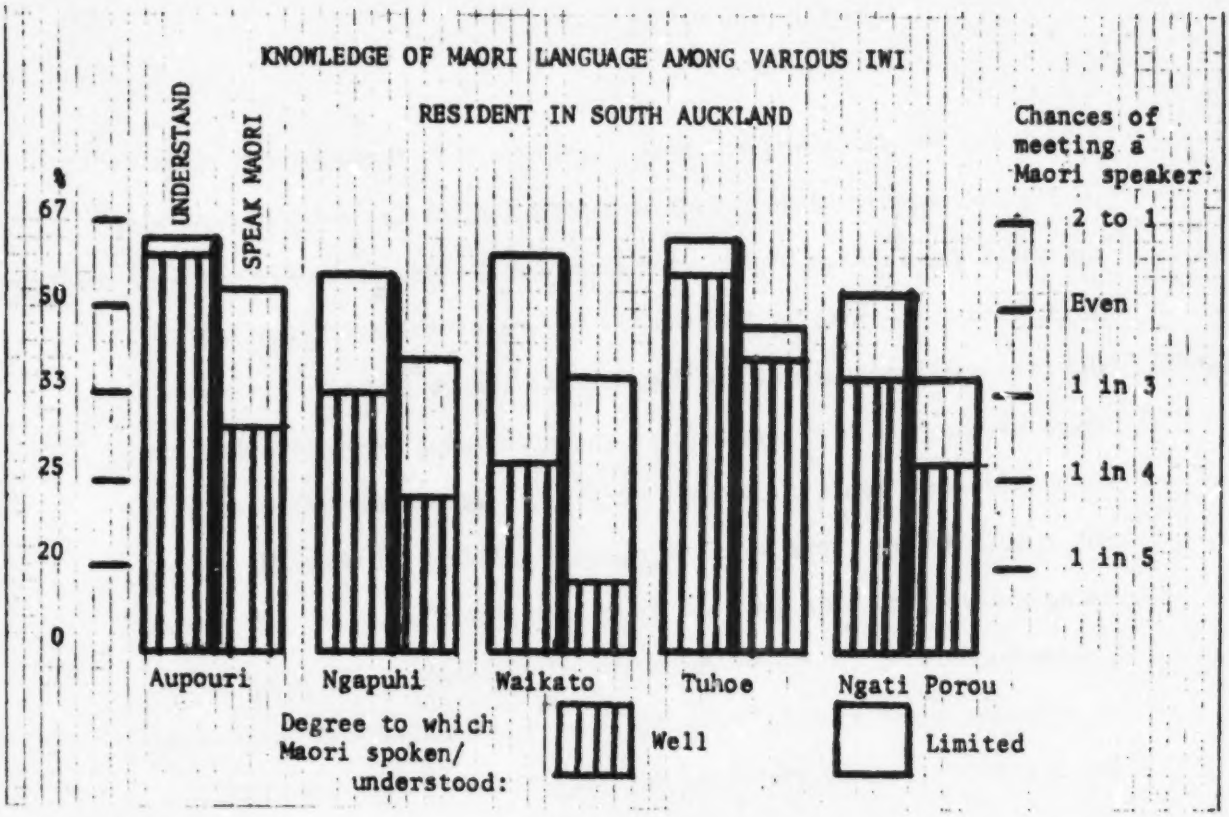
While this might be possible even now in many small rural communities, maintaining the Maori language in an urban environment would seem to be almost impossible on a community wide scale. For a start, Maori speaking adults in urban areas are generally hopelessly outnumbered by their English speaking children, not to mention their English speaking neighbours. Proportionately fewer parents in these areas are competent Maori speakers, and the number of older Maori speaking relatives and friends who could support their efforts to maintain or rebuild a Maori speaking community is also severly limited.

The result, of course, is a very sharp decline in knowledge of Maori between and within generations. The situation in Manukau City is typical of most urban areas and townships with substantial Maori populations. There, the overwhelming majority of Maori people over the age of 45 are native speakers of Maori. In the 25-44 year age group, however, less than half can speak Maori, although a majority have a good understanding of the language. Less than 10 per cent of school leavers and young adults (the 16 to 24 age group) can speak Maori, although almost half have at least a minimal knowledge of the language. One's chances of meeting a school age or preschool speaker of Maori in Manukau are about one in fifty (28 out 1302 children in our sample) - and yet this age group includes half the total Maori population of the city.

Knowledge of Maori Language by Age Groups
in Manukau City



It is sometimes asserted that certain tribal groups have been able to maintain the Maori language in the face of competition from English much better than others. Te Aupouri and Ngati Hine in Northland, and Tuhoe and Te Whanau-a-Apanui in the Bay of Plenty come easily to mind in this regard, and nearly every region has one or two places which are regarded by the Maori community as being stronger than the rest when it comes to knowledge of the language. Certainly, our data show that the proportion of Maori speakers in the total Maori population varies greatly from locality to locality, and some districts are in fact Maori speaking to a very much greater degree than any of their neighbours. But these areas, as has been noted, tend to be off the beaten track. What happens when their inhabitants migrate to the towns and cities?



This question cannot be answered definitively at the present time, but the data we have analyzed so far suggest that, where language maintenance is concerned, isolation may be more important than ethnicity. In the South Auckland Urban Area, excluding Papakura City, for example, ability to speak Maori among five major iwi represented in our sample varied from a high of 42% among Tuhoe group to 19% among the Waikato - Maniapoto confederation, and ability to understand Maori conversation was highest among the Aupouri (58%). In each of the five groups, more than half the population had at least a minimal knowledge of Maori, ranging from 51% of the Ngati Porou to 65% among both the Aupouri and Tuhoe.

The first salutory fact is, however, that in all these groups except one (Tuhoe) your chances of meeting a fluent Maori speaker in Manukau City and its neighbours are less than one in three, and

even among the Tuhoe you are more likely to meet someone more comfortable in English than in Maori. Even more disquieting is the fact that when the total figures are broken down into age groups, there are really no important differences between the tribes as far as transmitting the parents' knowledge of the language to the children is concerned. There were no Tuhoe or Ngati Porou children among the 6 preschoolers who could speak Maori (Ngapuhi's total of 3 seems impressive until one realises that there were 134 Ngapuhi children in this age group). Among the 26 preschool and school age children who could speak Maori, 2 were Aupouri, 2 Tuhoe, 19 Ngapuhi, and 3 Waikato. The proportion of children identified as Tuhoe or Aupouri who understood Maori well was higher than among the other iwi, but their numbers were small (8 and 11 respectively), and more than half of the children in each of these two groups were said by their parents to have no knowledge of Maori at all.

Since quantity is so obviously lacking perhaps there is some compensating concentration of quality to be found if one looks hard enough for it. Despite claims that have been made for decades about the corruption and pidginization of modern Maori, there is little evidence of decadence in the careful speech of mature speakers. Admittedly, some horrendous transliterations have crept in to modern Maori vocabulary - for example kamupeneheihana, twice as long in terms of syllables as its English equivalent (compensation), and which could surely have been rendered by some derivative of utu (recompense) a lot more felicitously. But be that as it may, there are still quite a number of older speakers who have good control of the language. Once more, however, we are up against the problem of older speakers. Among adults in general, control of the language seems to vary greatly,

depending partly on the amount of effort which the individual has put in to learning from their elders. Many people in their twenties and thirties, if required to speak formally, can get along with a few memorized phrases to start off with and then break into English (or conclude their speech before it has really begun). Others, considering their age and experience, are already skilled orators, able to use the language creatively and discourse on a wide range of topics without having to resort to English. As yet, we have no objective evidence as to which pattern, if either, is the dominant one.

We do have some evidence about what has happened in the speech of children in the Tuhoe heartland over the last fifteen years, however. Even in 1963, when Maori seemed quite secure in many rural areas, unassimilated borrowings - words which have kept the characteristics of the language from which they are taken, instead of being changed, like kamupeneheihana, to fit better with the language which adopts them - appeared now and then in the speech of children whose first language was obviously Maori. These were usually connected with an English dominant domain, like the school. So a sentence like

I whakastayinngia matou ki te do i a matou work

'We were made to stay in to do our (school) work'

did not indicate that the children at Matahi (inland from Waimana in the Bay of Plenty) who made such statements were speaking pidgin. The meanings of 'stay in', 'do' and 'work' in Maori were severely restricted - 'work' meant only school work, the only kind of work to which the verb 'do' applied. Given time, these words may well have taken on a Maori guise.

Evidence which we have recently collected in Tawera and Ruatoki would seem to indicate that children in these areas have not been given time. Fifteen years ago, when I did some fieldwork in the area, I encountered only one child at Ruatoki school who did not speak Maori well. He had come from outside the area, and was learning Maori very quickly. I did not hear any English spoken spontaneously by children at play. When it came to recording children speaking Maori, the only problem was getting them to stop talking.

When our linguistic survey teams visited Ruatoki and Tawera in 1974, there was an indication that some families were beginning to use English as the major medium of communication in the household. Over

the next 3½ years this trend seems to have accelerated, so that 3 of 5 five year olds at Ruatoki School in June 1977 were clearly much more comfortable speaking English rather than Maori, even in response to Maori spoken by young adults from the same district. This was evident also among older children - most of those under the age of eleven had to make a conscious effort to sustain a conversation in Maori, and tended to break out into English when they became excited. Even in speech of fluent Maori speakers unassimilated loans were frequent - in a 320 word passage by the most voluble 9 year old at Tawera in 1977, for example, the nouns show, girlfriend, slides, bomb, boy, and bullet appear, along with the verbs blow up, surrender, and slow down. More importantly, the English conjunctions then, and, [be]cause and if appear, as well as after and that. A passage of similar length recorded from 9 year old in 1963, besides having a richer vocabulary (57 noun and verb stems as against 43) and exhibiting obvious superiority in formation of complex sentences, contained no unassimilated verbs, and only one such noun, sister. There was no use of English conjunctions. A few isolated uses of then (normally implied in the Maori verbal particle ka) appeared in the speech of other children in 1963 - it had become standard usage by 1977. One cannot conclude that all is still well.

Some interesting research into 'dying languages' has been done in other countries during the past decades, and we can use some of the insights others have gained in order to assess the condition of the local case.[2]

One of the first symptoms to appear when a language is endangered is loss of function, so that the areas of life in which native speakers use the language become more and more restricted. As people make increasing

use of a second language, the ability of succeeding generations to use the first language becomes more and more restricted, until it ends up as a 'kitchen language', heavily influenced (and eventually replaced by) the second language, or else it becomes purely a ritual language, its use restricted to certain formal contexts. Certainly, there are signs that this is starting to happen with Maori; although there is still a clear distinction between styles of speech in the repertoire of older speakers, many younger speakers are resorting to English even when discussing aspects of their day to day experience.

Another set of symptoms may be found within the structure of the language itself. An endangered language may either be completely predictable (that is, it has ceased to change, and everything about it can be described with certainty), or very unstable. This instability (stemming usually from excessive influence by another language) may result in a great deal of individual variation in language use, and the invasion of the grammatical system as well as the vocabulary by recognizably foreign elements. Again, there is evidence that this is happening in Maori. The speech of children in one Maori speaking community has, we have seen, incorporated a number of English elements into the grammatical system over the last 15 years, and the number of unassimilated loans from English seems to have increased greatly.

At least some of the contemporary obsession with dialects of the language may stem from the increasingly unpredictable course of individual variation, so that every native speaker becomes convinced that even his aberrations are general rules - for his dialect, of course. On the other hand, it should be noted that there are demonstrable differences between the colloquial Maori spoken in various regions, and that these

may have been underestimated by scholars and speakers alike because of the comparative homogeneity of the formal, oratorical, register of the language from one dialect area to another. A comparison of basic vocabulary items reveals differences between the speech of the Northland, East Coast, and Waikato areas, for example, that borders on the line used by scholars to distinguish languages from dialects overseas.[3] Most adult speakers, however, are aware of the most important of these differences, and adapt their own speech accordingly when conversing with someone from a different dialect area. So whatever the theoretical position might be, Maori is, for all practical purposes, still a single language, characterized by regional variations which constitute only temporary barriers to easy communication between speakers from different areas.

Comparative studies of endangered and extinct languages indicate that there is a progression from security through bilingualism to decay and death. The bilingual stage was reached by Maori speakers several generations ago. In itself it is no threat to language maintenance - some languages have survived for centuries under such conditions.[4] The symptoms we have just noted, however, would seem to indicate that the third stage - decay - may have already been reached. This becomes serious, and probably irreversible, when the language concerned ceases to be the primary language of socialization for young children. When this happens, the language may persist for a while as a pidgin - a blend of languages which has no native speakers and no diversity of styles - but it will almost inevitably be replaced by the language which has dominated it once this stage has been reached.

The use of the language in bringing up children is the key

factor here. English, for example, is the product of massive influence on an earlier Germanic language by French. English is recognizably different from French, however, because the base language, although greatly changed over the centuries, was never abandoned as the mother tongue by the majority of its speakers - that is, they continued to speak English to their children. The situation in New Zealand seems to have paralleled that in twelth century England for the first hundred years of contact between English and Maori - Maori people learned English but taught their children Maori first. Recently, however, it seems that many parents, even in rural strongholds of Maori language, have been adopting English as the main language for bringing up their children, and this could well lead to the pidginization of Maori in the very near future - the first speakers of English Maori pidgin are probably already with us.

Death, however, has not yet occurred. It is most likely to occur when the speakers of one language are overwhelmed numerically by speakers of a competing language, and the minority language is significantly less prestigious than the other language, and the speakers of the minority language lack a sound geographical base where their language is dominant. All three of these conditions are present in New Zealand. Native speakers of Maori are outnumbered by speakers of English in a ratio of at least 30 to one. Only two counties, Hokianga (the most economically depressed rural area in the country) and Waiapu, and one borough (Murupara) have a majority of Maoris in the total population. Although some official recognition has been given to Maori language in recent years, it obviously still has little social prestige - it is recognized by statute simply as 'the ancestral tongue of that portion of the population of New Zealand

of Maori descent', not as a national language. It is given a very limited role in radio broadcasting, virtually none in the press, and, apart from a few phrases of greeting, none on television. It is now widely taught as a subject in schools, but teachers of Maori lack the material resources available to teachers of other modern languages. The Maori speaking child has little reason to think that his language is highly regarded outside his own community, and the fact that many Maoris no longer speak the language would indicate that the status of the language within the Maori community is also questionable. Maori speakers are geographically dispersed, and constitute a minority of the inhabitants even in the three territorial local authority areas with a predominantly Maori population.

All the elements we have isolated so far in this examination of the apparent decline of the Maori language as a vernacular are effects rather than causes. According to some experts on the subject,[5] there are normally only two causes for the disappearance of a language - the physical destruction of a speech community through some natural or induced catastrophe, or a decision on the part of its members not to transmit the language to future generations. In New Zealand, however, and I would suspect elsewhere in the world, a third cause operates which is the obverse of the second just mentioned. That is, the decision that the minority language shall not be transmitted is made by the dominant speech community, whose members will not themselves learn the minority language and who, through conscious or unconscious pressures transmitted through social institutions like the school and the mass media, encourage children to resist their parents' efforts to transmit to them their linguistic heritage. The dominant language is thus perceived by children as far more useful and important than

the minority language, even when parents have made a conscious effort to maintain the latter in the home.

The factors underlying a decision to abandon Maori for English are varied, but some are common to the decline of languages in many parts of the world. The effects of urbanization, where speakers of the minority language are removed from their own communities and brought into intense contact with the dominant majority group, normally have adverse effect on language maintenance, particularly when the minority is unable to congregate in any one area of the urban complex. The situation in Manukau City illustrates this process at work in New Zealand. The schools also reinforce the position of the dominant language, and directly weaken the minority language by excluding it from important domains of use - that is, by excluding it from any active role in the formal education of the individual. For a hundred years Maori has been excluded in this way, and it is only in the last year that even one school has been encouraged to use Maori as a medium of instruction in general subjects. The fact that official recognition is now being given to the worth of bilingual education, where the role of Maori would be equal to that of English, is, however, even at this late stage, a most encouraging development in the history of Maori education.

In recent years the mass media have become increasingly important sources of linguistic influence, and in New Zealand the role of television has been particularly influential in strengthening English and weakening Maori. It is no coincidence that none of the children interviewed in Ruatoki and Tawera in 1963 talked about TV or radio programmes - their conversations, and their lives, were centred around things and events which they had experienced directly: deer shooting,

gathering food and other materials in the bush, work on the farm, play, and an occasional trip to town. By contrast, nearly every child interviewed in 1977 mentioned TV, and the most animated conversations centered around TV programmes and activities indirectly popularized by TV, such as skateboard riding. In 1963 children, in these areas still lived in a predominantly Maori world; now, a great deal of their experience is vicarious and mediated through the all-English medium of television.

Not only has television invaded the rural fastness, but better roading and easier transport has made it easier for people to move out for short periods. Again, in Ruatoki and Tawera, most children in 1963 had little to say about towns and cities. Many of those interviewed in 1977, however, talked about holidays in Rotorua, Auckland, and Wellington. Migration to the cities has not affected only the migrants - it has also enabled them to establish bases to which those who stay behind may intensify their contacts with English.

Urbanization and increased communication also increases the likelihood of marriage between persons speaking the dominant and the dominated language. In 1963, an English speaker coming to Ruatoki would have learned Maori, and their children would almost certainly have had Maori as their first language. Now, possibly even in Ruatoki, and almost certainly in any urban area, it is the Maori speaking partner who is likely to assimilate, and English will be the dominant language of the home.

The status of English, and the implications this has for the education and welfare of the children, as well as the attendant difficulty of persuading children to continue to speak a language that hardly anyone else of any importance to them seems to value,

are probably key factors in the switch from Maori to English as the language for communicating with their children which many Maori speaking parents have made. The effects of such decisions in turn serve to weaken an already beleaguered language. As a language like Maori becomes restricted in its usefulness and increasingly dominated internally by elements from the majority language, its importance even as a badge of ethnic identity usually declines. Even its speakers begin to feel ashamed of it - it is no longer 'pure' enough. So it becomes unfit even for the symbolic role - the only one left for it - and is jettisoned in favour of some other symbol: a style of dress, a way of doing ones hair, a distinctive cuisine.

Does this mean then that the Maori language has no future as a vernacular in New Zealand? Prophets of doom have never been wanting on issues involving the Maori people, but more often than not their prophecies have been proven false in the fullness of time. Although the present plight of the language gives no grounds for complacency, there are one or two glimmerings of light in an otherwise dark prospect. Firstly, many speakers of Maori have become aware of the danger that the language may in fact die out within the lifetime of their children or grandchildren, and have been moved to act in an attempt to avert this catastrophe. The establishment of the first English - Maori bilingual schools, one in a wholly Maori speaking community in the Bay of Plenty, one in an area where most children have passive rather than active knowledge of the language, and a third in a largely Anglicized Maori community in central Hawkes Bay,[6] has come about because of the consciousness of an urgent need for institutional support for the Maori language among the members of these communities, who have now been able to secure a favourable

response from the administrative establishment at local and national levels. It is to be hoped that similar educational opportunities will be made available to Maori communities in Northland and in other regions.[7]

There is also reason to believe that sympathetic concern for the future of the Maori language is becoming widespread among the non-Maori English speaking majority of New Zealanders. The value of the Maori language as a symbol of New Zealand's national identity is given tacit recognition in the trend towards using Maori phrases of greeting in speeches given by the Prime Minister and other members of the government on state occasions involving visitors to this country. The tremendous growth in the number of Maori language courses in schools, though ill coordinated and inadequately backed by resource materials and teacher training, has also come about in response to a wide public demand for at least token recognition of the Maori language in the general education of New Zealanders. Lastly, and most importantly, there are still many areas in the country where knowledge of Maori is widespread among the adult community.

The resources for a revival of Maori as a truly living language are depleted, but still rich. If present negative trends continue unabated, these resources will disappear within a generation, and be rendered ineffectual much sooner. The current decline in the use and knowledge of Maori can only be arrested through combining a desire on the part of those who still speak the language to transmit it to future generations, with a belief that this wish can be fulfilled. Such dreams cannot be realized, however, unless they are accompanied by measures from the outside - a combination of educational support

and economic development based on local human and physical resources in rural areas where the language is still strong, the extension of opportunities for bilingual education to urban areas, the development of high quality and regular Maori language programmes for all age groups and at convenient listening and viewing times on radio and television, and the economic incentives implicit in making bilingual competence in English and Maori an advantage or requirement for a sufficient number of managerial, administrative, clerical and service positions, all these measures, and perhaps more, will need to be taken if the language is to be maintained at its present level beyond the 1970's.

Many of these developments are unlikely, but none are impossible Even bilingual education, which is now accepted as a legitimate and even necessary enterprise within the state education system, was a most unlikely future prospect in the 1960s. The problems, and the solutions, lie in the minds of those who can now speak Maori, and those who control the educational, social, and economic structures of the wider society. If they agree that Maori is either doomed or unimportant, it will surely die out, slowly and gracefully perhaps, but inevitably nonetheless. On the other hand, if those concerned decide that Maori is both viable and important, the measures needed to ensure that it remains so will no doubt be taken with all deliberate speed.

For now, the Maori language is like the Korotangi of old: we cannot be sure whether it is alive, dead, or has already turned into stone.

NOTES

*This paper is revised and expanded from the introductory sections of an address given at the Conference of University Teachers of Maori Studies and Maori Language, Victoria University of Wellington, August 1978.

1. For a description of this survey see R.A. Benton 'The Maori Language: Patterns of Use in Contemporary Maori Society', New Zealand Speech Therapists Journal, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1977; also The Sociolinguistic Survey of Language Use in Maori Households, Maori Unit, NZCER, 1978. Further information from data obtained in the survey is discussed in another paper by the present author, 'Who speaks Maori in New Zealand' prepared for the first session of the symposium 'New Zealand's Language Future', also at the 49th ANZAAS Congress.

2. See Linguistics 191, 1977 for a series of excellent articles on sociolinguistic aspects of language death.

3. The historical and contemporary evidence on the degree of dialect variation in Maori is explored by R.B. Harlow in his paper 'Regional Variation in Maori' (N.Z. Journal of Archaeology Vol. 1, No. 1, 1979).

Using the same wordlists as Dr Harlow but deleting doubtful items and employing slightly different criteria for determining cognancy, the present writer obtained higher percentages of agreement among the various pairs of languages on the Swadesh 200 basic items than did Dr Harlow (Ngapuhi: Waikato B[enton] 83.8%, H[arlow] 74.3%; Ngapuhi:Ngati Porou B81.2% H77.8%; Waikato:Ngati Porou B82.9% H76.3%). Even the higher percentages, however, border on the 80% level, which some comparative linguists consider to indicate language rather than merely dialect boundaries.

4. See M.V. Nadkarni, 'Bilingualism and Syntactic Change in Konkani' Language 51.3, 1975, pp. 672-683.

5. See e.g. Norman Denison 'Language Death or Language Suicide?' Linguistics 191, 1977, esp pp. 21-22.

6. For background on the Hawkes Bay school see R.A. Benton An English-Maori Bilingual Education Programme in Four Haweks Bay Schools: Suggestions for a Research and Development Programme Maori Unit, NZCER, 1977 and An English-Maori Bilingual Programme in Selected Hawkes Bay Schools: Second Report, Maori Unit, NZCER, 1978.

7. The policy implications of bilingual schooling in New Zealand are explored in a paper 'Policy Implications of Bilingual Education in New Zealand' prepared by the present author for the second session of the symposium 'New Zealand's Language Future' 49th Anzaas Congress.